1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

mean that his position *vis à vis* the Confederation is wholly negligible. The influence that an individual ruler exerts over a confederation of tribesmen depends to a large extent on the personality of the individual and I found plenty of evidence that Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur is universally respected, admired, and held in affection amongst the Shenafir tribesmen. Even though his word is not universally law his services are much sought in mediation between different factions, and there is no lack of factions in the Confederation. Along the length of the valley from the east of Shibam to the east of Tarim, which is considered Kathīri, village after village is a small city-state on its own. It is difficult to pass from one to another, even now that the motor-car has come, without the traditional *siyar* or escort.

Typical of the situation has been the state of war that has existed for some time between the Āl 'Umar and Āl 'Āmr clans. They have centred round the respectably-sized town of Al Ghurfa between Shibam and Seiyun. Five or six years ago some of the tribesmen of the Āl 'Umar started interfering with the inhabitants of Al Ghurfa. Bin 'Abdat, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Āmr, protested to Salim bin Ja'fer, the *'aqīl* of the Āl 'Umar, and proposed that they should unite to make peace in Al Ghurfa. Hitherto disputes in the town were commonly referred to the settlement of one Sheikh Bā Abūd, but this arrangement appears to have broken down. Bin 'Abdat informed Bin Ja'fer that if he would not help him, he (Bin 'Abdat) would establish control in the town himself. As Bin Ja'fer did not give him support he took action himself and established order. The new state of affairs was not popular, and probably resulted in some further disorder which had its repercussions beyond local limits. At this juncture the Qu'aiti *wazir* came to Shibam and brought pressure on Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur to unite with him and Salim bin Ja'fer in compelling Bin 'Abdat to vacate Al Ghurfa, and retire to his original place outside. Sultan 'Ali bin Mansur marched against Bin 'Abdat with one gun and some troops; Seiyid Hussein, the Qu'aiti *wazir*, also brought a gun and some troops from Shibam, Salim bin Ja'fer brought his own men, and the three forces collected at Al Ghiyel. The town of Al Ghurfa was bombarded, and, as it was described to me, " they had a good battle but without success ".

Seiyid Hussein, the *wazir*, retired after having successfully complicated the issue, and Sultan 'Ali immediately followed suit, leaving Bin 'Abdat and Bin Ja'fer to fight it out together. Both sides entrenched themselves. The elaborate system of fortifications and communication trenches, still visible at Al Ghurfa, reminded me strongly of France. They extend over nearly a mile, and in this small patch of the valley both sides lived an uncomfortable life for several years. Any cultivation that was done was done under difficulties, and the fields could only be approached through trenches. Salim bin Ja'fer enlivened the proceedings by importing a sort of armoured car from Java. This is now derelict

year, without considering special expenditure. It is fortunate that these families give attention to the affairs of Government and have been able to help to place the administration of the town of Tarim, for example, on a business footing. The families include men of considerable wealth who have made fortunes in Singapore where they own a lot of property acquired and developed in two generations. The Al Kaf family, who, by the way, are mostly British subjects, pay (I give the figure from memory) 120,000 Straits dollars a year in taxation in Singapore, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman, the head of the family, is a Justice of the Peace.

But it is not only among the wealthiest members of the community that there are signs of a growing desire for peace and progress. I have recorded elsewhere that, as well as in Qu'aiti territory, there are tribesmen of the Shenafir who have expressed a desire for settled administration and stated their willingness to pay taxes. As a whole the Kathīri people are the most wealthy of the inhabitants of the Hadhramaut. Their wealth is very largely derived from the East Indies, and principally from the Dutch colonies; but, as will be seen in the part of this report dealing with emigration, the Hadhrami wherever he settles is always a Hadhrami, and he looks on his beloved valley as a home to which he wishes to return. Abroad under a British or Dutch aegis he acquires a taste for peace and security. The money he makes he sends home, and, as stated elsewhere, the amount remitted from the East Indies is about seven lakhs of rupees a month. Once he has acquired property he ceases to be a Beduin with nothing to lose and becomes a landed proprietor with a large and expensive residence which he does not wish to see destroyed.

I have said that the Qu'aiti need guidance in their very creditable schemes of progress, the Kathīri want it in order to achieve peace and security.

CHAPTER XII.

QU'AITI-KATHĪRI RELATIONS.

Between Qu'aiti and Kathīri there is, unhappily, profound mistrust. This, however, can be well understood when the history of the country is understood, and when it is remembered that old hates in the East generally remain fresh long after the events which gave rise to them have passed. The Kathīri, not unnaturally, has cherished a grudge against the people who deprived him of what was once his country. The Qu'aiti retains a fear that he may yet lose what he has so hardly won. He realizes no doubt that except for British backing, which has sometimes been erratic in its application, it might well be possible for the Kathīris, original owners of the country, to call to their aid the other indigenous people of the Hadhramaut, including their old allies, and drive out the invader. The Qu'aiti also cherishes, perhaps, the hate that one party often bears towards the party it has wronged.

578 182 These sentiments I believe to be at the back of the unsatisfactory state of affairs between the two parties. They became accentuated by the Kathīris losing a seaport. Once they became land-locked, they felt themselves even more at the mercy of those who control the ways in and out of the country. The Qu'aitis, on their side, felt that with the seaports they could prevent the Kathīris from again becoming a menace. The inevitable result of this policy on the part of the Qu'aitis was intensified dissatisfaction and resentment on the part of the Kathīris.

185 661 618 Some 20 or 25 years ago they came to the conclusion that the state of affairs could no longer be borne. It was resulting in a neglected condition of the country and increased anarchy in the interior. All the revenue went into the pockets of the authority holding the seaports, and nothing was done in the way of improvements to the roads or to the development of the country. At this time there was little or no intercourse between the British and the Kathīri. The Qu'aiti had long been under British protection and had proved a loyal and faithful friend. Not unnaturally he was given support and in the usual way dealings with a tribe not in treaty relations were eschewed. Nevertheless the Kathīri would have preferred British assistance. As it was not forthcoming it is said that at different times he made advances to other powers, and the Turks, Dutch, Italians and French have been mentioned to me.

618 In due course we began to take an interest in the matter, and finally the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 was negotiated with the approval of His Majesty's Government. I do not propose to comment on this treaty (which is reproduced for convenience sake in an appendix) except to say that it seems to me admirable in its sentiments, particularly in its requiring the parties to co-operate in measures for the common benefit of the Hadhramaut. As far as the British Government was concerned its effect was to bring the Kathīris under British protection through the medium of the Protectorate treaty with the Qu'aitis. It also provides for the settlement of disputes between the two parties by the British. If the treaty could have been fulfilled in letter and spirit, all would have been well.

Apart from the fact that the Qu'aiti had been a loyal friend to the British, and that it would on that ground have been a mistake to upset his paramount authority in the Hadhramaut, any arrangement which set up two independent authorities in the Hadhramaut would be a mistake. The evil consequences of splitting up a country by means of separate treaties sought or granted on insufficient information are well exemplified in the case of Upper Yafa'. The Hadhramaut is economically and geographically a single unit, and its prosperity depends on the fullest co-operation between the party that controls the ports and the party that is paramount in the 000 interior. It has often been said that co-operation of this sort is not in the Arab genius, but economic forces are often more potent

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than purely ethnographical considerations, and I certainly believe that with some assistance the present trend of progress in Qu'aiti territory and desire for peace and development in Kathīri territory could be co-ordinated to a common end.

So much for the treaty.* Unfortunately the spirit of it has not as yet been carried into effect. Mistrust still reigns supreme. This mistrust insists on the fulfilment of such a condition as correspondence by the Kathīris with the British being conducted through Qu'aiti channels. If the mistrust did not exist, this provision would be a natural one tending to the facility of the conduct of public business. On the other hand, such provisions as that requiring co-operation remains a dead letter, and any attempts to secure progress by the Kathīris seem doomed to obstruction by the Qu'aitis.

In October 1927, and May 1928, conferences were held at Singapore in which measures were discussed which might lead to the improvement of the two states, and proposals were even brought forward for the institution of an assembly composed of representatives of both states to " scrutinize the budget ", and concern itself with the interstate co-ordination of certain departmental activities. These conferences were of course not likely to have any far-reaching result, but they were interesting as showing the ideas that were being imbibed by Kathīri emigrants in the advanced environment of the Straits Settlements. Such democratic concepts, however, were not likely to find favour at the present stage of development of thought in the Hadhramaut.

In 1929 the Kathīri Sultan drew attention to the lack of co-operation and the difficulty of introducing schemes of reform, and he proposed that a conference should be assembled to discuss the matter. The Qu'aiti to whom the matter was referred expressed his readiness to hold such a conference, but although the idea was encouraged it subsequently came to nothing and was eventually postponed *sine die*.

Shortly before my visit to the Hadhramaut Sultan 'Umar made his state tour of his domains and of Kathīri territory. He was received everywhere with acclamation and appears to have played the role of beneficent prince. He was presented with a petition asking for reforms. Certain abuses were mentioned in the petition, and, in particular, attention was called to the fact that although taxes were heavy they were not applied to the benefit of the subjects. There were also complaints of insecurity and the unrestricted traffic in arms. The petition recited the conclusion of the Qu'aiti-Kathīri agreement of 1918 and several others since concluded by Qu'aitis and Kathīris. The part of the petition dealing with these further documents is as follows :—

" The next treaty between both Governments was concluded on 10th Shawāl 1336 (1918). There followed also a third pact, which was concluded on 30th Dhu'l Qada 1336, between the Qu'aiti Government on the one part and the Āl Tamim on the

* [Qu'aiti – Kathiri agreement of 1918 – Analyst]

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The following is the order of importance of the four paramount Chiefs of the Sei'ar tribe : Yeslam bin Muhammad bin Jerbū'a of the Āl Hātim, Tanāf bin Seheil bin Runeidān of the Āl Hudeib, the Āl Qarwān, and the Āl 'Ali, 'Abdulla bin 'Aun bin Mulhī of the Āl Mulhī, and 'Ali bin 'Aita bin Tarim of the Āl Bā Rūh and the Āl Bāqi Msellem. Yeslam bin Muhammad is said to be far and away the most powerful of the Sei'ar chiefs.

The Sei'ar are descended from the tribe of Kinda and they claim Aswad al Kindi as their ancestor. On account of this descent the Āl Mahfudh are sometimes included with them. Their country, an inhospitable waste of barren plateaux scored with unfertile wadis, lies north of the main wadi and stretches west to Wadi 'Abr. It is called simply Reidat as Sei'ar.

They told me their neighbours are, on the east, 'Awāmir and Kathīr, Manāhil and Mahra, Zabeini, on the north, Kathīri as Suflan, Harawiz, Mahra, Zabeini, Rawashid, Murra, Yām, and on the west, Daham, 'Abīda, Marādā, Hammām, Bal 'Ubeid, Kurab. The very names tell how far afield they roam and raid. They are the wolves of the desert and steppe, and parials to the wadi folk living south of them, for they raid into the Minhali country on the east and the Hamumi and 'Awābitha on the south. Philby mentions them raiding far into the sands to Bir Fadhil, to Sharma, and possibly going to Hadbat abu Khasba. Bertram Thomas speaks of them raiding the Qutun, a section of the Qara tribe, and raiding a Mahra encampment at the waterhole of Andhaur. He also says they raided as far north as the region of Umm Malissa and that Sei'ar is a word of terror to the Rashid and the southern Murra. The Nahd let them visit their markets through fear only, and they are an ever present danger to small unguarded parties of travellers, whom they have interrupted up to Ghadīr al Milib in the Wadi Du'an. Having no settled habitat they are hard to punish and have always proved elusive and wary. When travelling in small numbers outside their own country they choose the byways and travel by night, for owing to their habits every man's hand is against them. The only places at which they appear openly are Shibam where they behave themselves, and Meshhed during the time of the annual *ziyara* in the month of Rabi'l Awal when they sell their camels. But their hardier neighbours do not let them have it all their own way and the Manāhil, for instance, give them as good as they get. If they raid far they are also raided from afar, as witness the case of a young warrior of the Southern Ajman from the neighbourhood of Kuweit, who, proceeding to Nejran in the winter of 1934-5 to espouse a Yām damsel, raided the Sei'ar on the Hadhramaut borders on his way home and took five of their camels to Kuweit.

They have monthly truces among themselves, never longer; sometimes they will make new ones, sometimes they fight. I was

given three different accounts of their truces with other tribes. My first informant told me that those in force were with the 'Awāmir for two years, of which three months had passed (this was on 3rd November 1934), with the Murra for six years, five months passed; the Rawashid four years, one year passed; Manāhil two years, five months passed; and Hamumi two years, seven months passed. The Mahra had declined to make a truce with them.

My second informant told me on 15th November 1934, that between the Hamumi and the Sei'ar six months' truce remained, between the Manāhil and the Sei'ar one year, and between the Mahra and the Sei'ar six months. The 'Awābitha living in Wadi 'Adam and Wadi al 'Ain were not on terms with the Sei'ar.

The third and probably better account is that given me by Tanaf bin Seheil bin Rumeidan's son and son-in-law on 1st December 1934. With the 'Awāmir, they said, there was a year's truce of which four months were left, with the Kathīri a year, and one month left, with the Hamumi a year, and two months left, with the Murra, Rawashid, Manāhil, and Yām there were truces for a year of which eleven months were left.

It is stated that the Sei'ars would join the Kathīri if there was trouble with the Qu'aiti, though the latter has a "B" agreement with them.

The wealth of the tribe consists of camels and sheep. Their camels are said to be superior in quality to those of the tribes in the south but inferior to those of the Mahras, and their number is estimated to be be about 7,000 or 8,000. Bertram Thomas says: "The tribes strongest in camels are the Murra, Manasir and Manahil, also to some extent, the Se'ar. The Rashid have, of late years, decayed from the depredations of the Se'ar." They have little cultivation though they grow jowari after rain. They go to Shibam to sell *saf* leaves for making mats, *'elb* trunks, and charcoal.

Bertram Thomas records the following description of them: "The Se'ar, according to the Rashidis—perhaps a tainted source in view of their relationship—neither pray nor fast. And they mock a Rashidi visitor (in times of peace) who does so, though they swear by Allah and claim to believe in Him. 'They say, God is the Knower! that their ancestors saved the Prophet from the hands of the infidels who were intent on slaying him, and the Prophet granted to him and his heirs exemption from prayer observances. They say so! May God forgive them!'" We learned from the Sei'ars that they will give their girls to prospective husbands on approval. If, after about two months' trial, a bridegroom is satisfied, he will marry the girl; otherwise she is returned to her parents.

The Seiyids 'Ali bin Zein, Hasan bin Salim al 'Attas, and Ahmed bin Hussein Hadun al 'Attas have influence over the Sei'ars.

[See p192 CAT. 1/6 Analyst]

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The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire.

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings.

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks.

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

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535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 535 552 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

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THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on. 535 562 567

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used. 535 585 796

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation. 535 562 171 567

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). 535 562 534

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served. 535 171 578

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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that of the Sultanates of the West, though I was interested to find that there was a small Jewish community, and this is the nearest that any Jews have got to the Hadhramaut. The Balhaf Sultan, an intelligent young man whom I have known for a long time, came to see me in Seiyun and asked us to help in extending peaceful arrangements to his country. Though most of the sections have signed the truce the situation is still far from settled, as Miss Stark, who arrived at 'Azzan from the Wadi 'Amd shortly after my first visit, will tell.

A short distance down the Wadi Meifa'a from 'Azzan are the ruins of Naqab al Hajar described by Wellstead a hundred years ago. This is Meepha Metropolis. I have only seen the ruins from the air, though Miss Stark has recently visited them. There are inscriptions also at Husn Gharab on the coast which Mr. Martens, one of this winter's visitors, has recently seen. He too was well received.

Bir 'Ali is the other Wahidi Sultanate and, though the old Sultan has no claim to rule outside his wedge-shaped little walled town, he is unfortunately at present unwilling to compose his long-standing differences with the Balhaf and 'Azzan relatives, which makes settlement more difficult. I have lately had both Sultans in Mukalla and tried to get them to bury the hatchet.

I have had little opportunity in this last tour to do more for the Mahras than visit Qishn, their capital, occasionally, and Socotra I have not visited since 1935. It may perhaps be remembered that the Bin Zueidi section of the Mahras did not exactly welcome us when we arrived at the coast through the Wadi Maseila in 1934, and a couple of months ago for the first time the Mahras asked for intervention in their internal affairs, as the Zueidi tyranny in Seihut had become acute. We are now trying in the normal political way of advice and exhortation to induce them to cease their exactions on unarmed merchants and peaceful citizens in a town in which they have no lawful concern, and I paid my last visit to Qishn a day or two before I left Mukalla.

I had intended to visit Gheidha, the most eastern landing-ground in the Aden Protectorate, but we did not get so far and made a landing at Haswein just west of Cape Fartak. The inhabitants said it was the first time that Europeans had been there, though they called me by my name as soon as I stepped out of the machine. These coastal Mahras are a peaceful folk engaging mostly in fishing, and they have pleasant breeze-swept villages of a simple style of architecture, unlike the Hadhramaut but which reminded Mr. Figgis, who was with me, very much of the Arab dwellings in Northern Nigeria. I do not believe we could really have been the first Europeans to visit the place as there is quite an adequate account of it in the Red Sea Pilot, perhaps derived from a visit of Captain Haines in the *Palinurus* over a hundred years ago. Perhaps too there had been a much earlier European visitor, for authorities on classical geography usually identify Ras Fartak, Cape Syragrus, the Boar's Head, as the point from which Hippolus set forth in about A.D. 45 when he discovered the changes of the monsoons. I have long had a wish to put up on this majestic cape of Fartak a simple obelisk with the inscription, a quotation from the *Periplus*, "Hippolus discovered the changes of the

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

It seems that herein lie pagan ideas attached to the person of a Muslim saint who appears to be regarded in much the same way as a tribal god of the pre-Islamic era. On consideration, I do not think that the intent is to bring the head of the foe to 'Umar al-Miḥḍār, but he is evidently regarded as assisting the quarter in battle against, perhaps, another quarter, Muslims and Šawāfi' notwithstanding.

In the case of a quarrel between two quarters, when one quarter denies its culpability it uses the following formula :

لَا عَصَبْنَا وَلَا طَلَقْنَا وَلَا رَمَزْنَا وَلَا غَمَزْنَا

« We did not decide (to do anything), nor did we omit (to do anything), we did not look nor did we whisper [12]. »

This is known as the « oath of the denial » (yamīn al-inkār).

2. Ahl al-Ḥilaif

a. Metre : Basīṭ, ||—∪——|—∪—|—∪——

اَلْيَوْم جُمْعَة وَغُدْوَة مِثْلَهَا
لَمَّا تَقُومَ اَلْقِيَامَة كُلَّهَا.
عِيُوهْ ! وَوْ ! مسَهْ !

« Today is Friday, tomorrow the same,
Until the Resurrection comes, all of it. »

The sense is, probably, that today is a holiday, or at least a fortunate day. After this and other verses, exclamations such as the above are commonly used. Another common exclamation is wō-lākhap. What these exclamations signify none can say, but all Ḥaḍramis concur that they are old and curious. I am tempted to suggest they might be corrupt vestiges of pagan religious ritual.

[12] The latter two verbs of the « oath of denial » were thus paraphrased for me, but I feel that the classical senses of the Lexicons might be more appropriate here.

22: Reilly G-3 (1933-41) 1941 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

houses whose semi-Malayan architecture contrasts forcibly with the austere and simple lines of the buildings of native Arab design. These well-to-do people have seen the benefits of law and order in foreign countries, but they found themselves powerless to introduce them among the warring tribes of the Hadhramaut. The country thus presented a strange intermixture of civilized opulence and tribal turmoil. It was at length realized by themselves that these evils could be cured only by foreign intervention, and they appealed insistently to the Protecting Power to interfere. The situation was complicated by the political division of the country between the Quaiti Sultan of Mukalla and the Kathiri Sultan of Seiyun, whose traditional jealousies added to the general confusion.

It was evident to the British authorities that the whole problem presented by this part of the Protectorate needed careful examination before any effective action could be taken by the British Government, and Mr. W. H. Ingrams was deputed by the Colonial Office to study it. His very valuable report formed the basis on which British policy in the country has since been developed, and his appointment as Resident Adviser to the Quaiti and Kathiri Sultans opened a new chapter in the history of the country. Backed by the strength of the Royal Air Force, whose timely punishment of a notoriously lawless tribe gave general satisfaction, he was able to negotiate a network of truces which brought to an end the internecine warfare that was ruining the land, and with the assistance of a small but energetic political staff he was able to inaugurate reforms that are bringing order out of chaos in the Quaiti and Kathiri States. Mr. Ingrams is now Chief Secretary at Aden, but his work in the Eastern Aden Protectorate is being continued by his successor at Mukalla, Mr. Joy.

In the western half of the Protectorate there was not the same demand for reform, because there was no correspondingly large section of the community with wealth and culture and an acquaintance with the advantages of regular and orderly government. Progress has therefore been slower, but the efforts of the British Government to promote peace and internal security have been ably assisted by our loyal friend the Sultan of Lahej, the premier chief of the Protectorate.

The patient work of Colonel M. C. Lake, the Political Secretary at Aden, and of the political officers under his direction has borne fruit in a general amelioration of conditions, and the creation of Government and tribal guards to supplement air control has helped in establishing security on the trade routes and in bringing peace to districts that had

24: Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

of the city. Before the gate is the Wādī Seded, where the sea has penetrated far inland and formed an inlet. Here on the beach the caravans camp as they travel to and from the interior. Hundreds of camels are kneeling in great circles, eating the food that lies in the centre. Other camels are being bathed and scrubbed down with sea-water, while still others are protesting with gurgling snarls against the treatment of some skin trouble or of big open wounds. There are donkeys here and there amongst them. Bedouins lie asleep wrapped about in their cloaks or sit round a small fire eating out of wooden bowls their porridge of crumbled bread mixed up with a little fat. Some are busy with the difficult work of loading: after the freights have been weighed by lifting and then divided, they are fastened on to the pack-saddles. Children are collecting into baskets the camel's dung which is of great value as fuel. The ground is swarming with the so-called camel-louse, which is really a sort of tick. The penetrating odour of the camels' urine and sweat hangs over this wide-spread, permanent bivouac.

We go inland along the bank of the Wādī Seded, which is here filled with sea-water, so as to cross, by making a big bend, behind the 1800 feet high rocky ridge of Makalla. On the left of the road, only a few miles from Makalla, there are groves of palm, with the white summer quarters of the Vizier and of the Sultan. Here is a spring from which, by means of a thin, iron pipe lying on the ground, water is carried to Makalla to provide the town with drink.

Two hamlets, el-Baqrēn and Baqērēn, with some cultivated fields, lie close to the frontier of the Sultanate of Makalla. There are two fortified towers on the road manned by soldiers, and not far beyond Baqērēn there stands a whitewashed piece of rock. Against the high wall of primary rock, rising up each side of the road, two white marks have been made to show even in the mountain region, where the land is at peace and where at war. No vendetta may be carried on nor ancient feuds settled by arms in or around the town.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

A little way beyond the boundary-marks, about 20 Bedouins have made a bivouac under an overhanging wall of rock. On the top of the rock on the other side of the road are their outposts, who keep a sharp look-out for caravans passing along the high road. One caravan that had carried out a vendetta is now in safety in Makalla, a willing prisoner. We only realized later that we should be the ones to free it from that imprisonment.

The road winds through steep rocks and at last zigzags up to a plateau which seems to be of coral limestone formation. The hamlet of Maᶜōṣ lies in a rocky valley a little in front of the plateau; further up, in a longer valley, there is a larger village called el-Ḥarshīyāt. From the plateau one can see, far away to the left, the village of el-Ḥawwā'. We are soon past the rock massif of Makalla, and the road descends to an inlet of the sea which has run far inland, whereon lies the village of Buwēsh. Papaya, bēdān and bananas are planted here along the edge of fields of lucerne. In the wādī that runs into the sea near Buwēsh there are, higher up, more date-palms and other fruit-trees, plantations which are the property of the Vizier and of other rich men of Makalla. The wells from which the fields are irrigated are not deep here, only 20 feet. On the coast between Buwēsh and Makalla lies Rūkeb. The road mounts again, runs for some time over coral formations, and then again drops to the Wādī Feleq, into which, far inland, the sea-water runs and which, consequently, is more like a small river. Baṣra lies a little higher up this wādī. At the edge of the stream we find much *asal*[1] growing. The coral limestone terraces on both sides are fairly high. The road runs farther over level land where jathropha shrubs grow; whole patches, also, are covered with incense bushes, which are recognizable by their scent and have either no leaves or very small ones. Some tall acacia bushes with elongated blossoms stand out here and there amidst the brownish shrubs which grow upon the bare rocky ground, strewn with pieces of coral.

[1] A kind of big reed.

middle of the roof-terrace is a room, open on all sides, but shady during the day, where meals are served. One can see that we are nearing Terīm with its refinements of civilization from the iced water that is brought round here in huge thermos flasks. Sēwūn is the mother city of many Ḥaḍramīs who have amassed wealth in Java and the Straits Settlements. There is oriental exaggeration in the Sultan's greeting: "You are really the Sultan of this land, for more than half of its inhabitants are Dutch subjects", but there is a kernel of truth in it, for Sēwūn is deeply under the influence of Indonesia. Is not Malay perpetually spoken in the Sultan's entourage? Does one not hear that language in the mouth of the children in the streets of the town? All sorts of words from Java have been absorbed into the colloquial. The meals served are real Javanese rice meals (*rijsttafel*). Even the few horses that Sēwūn possesses have been imported from Western Java. According to the Sultan, there are some thirty Javanese women who have been brought here by their husbands and who will never more return to their country. The mixture of races can also be noted in the shape of the faces and the features of the children on the streets.

Conversation flows smoothly and is only interrupted by the *ṣalāt* and by meals. As the Sultan[1] has much trouble from enemies who work against him behind his back with the help of money earned in Java, it is not to be wondered at that he has many requests to make and much to say to the envoy of Holland. He would be glad to have the aid of Holland to subdue his enemies in Java. A Government edict threatening banishment from Netherlands India to all who should further a revolutionary movement in their own country would be considered sufficient here. During the following days there is a great deal of talk over this subject and others connected with it. Later on, in the sayyids' circle in Terīm, another additional question is raised, namely, that of the struggle between the Ḥaḍramī sayyids and the Ḥaḍramīs who do not belong to this privileged class, in which struggle they consider that the Government of Netherlands India takes a line which is too

[1] [ʿAlī bin Manṣūr bin Ghālib bin Muḥsin āl Kathīr, Sultan of Sēwūn -- ANAL[ist]]

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

neutral and too democratic. Although there are heated arguments and great differences of opinion come to light, these do not in the least disturb the hearty hospitality that, here once again, we find such a surprising experience. We are also invariably required to give our impressions of Ḥaḍramaut. This is done with the object of hearing our opinion about the lack of legal security, the great poverty of the people, the backwardness of the country as regards education, roads and irrigation. My attempts to keep myself out of the game by making comparisons between conditions here and those which I had become acquainted with in the two other independent Arabian kingdoms, the Yemen and the Hedjaz, were followed with attention, but did not serve my aim. Finally, the Sultan or one of his advisers asks directly what we think of the state of affairs here. It is then no longer possible to avoid answering, and we give frank vent to our disappointment over the great lack of unity and the state of warfare which are a disgrace to the leading Ḥaḍramīs, whom we have known as able, energetic men and peaceful citizens in Java. I then say to them that they ought not to look for help from abroad, whether it be from England or Holland, or from whatever other country they expect it, but that they must seek unity amongst themselves and set their hand to the plough with self-confidence; then, with the help of Allah, they will succeed in putting an end to many shameful conditions in their country. We repeated this in many keys in all parts of the Al Kathīr country and never noticed that it spoiled our excellent relations in the least degree.

As soon as the Sultan notices that we are desirous of rest, he gives the sign to withdraw, and all present, with the exception of a number of servants, follow their lord and master out of the room. The servants crowd joyously round the samovar, which goes on producing numberless glasses of tea until deep into the night, and it does not occur to them that we, blasé Europeans, may perhaps be disturbed by the stories told and the songs sung by them. The nights passed on the great roof-

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often very poor in water, but, over and above this, countless internal wars make traffic dangerous and force travellers to go by very circuitous routes. This is why the Ḥaḍramī seldom knows his own country well. A learned Ḥaḍramī whom I knew formerly said to me quite truly: "I know all the volcanoes of Java and all the stations on its main railway lines, but I cannot give you any information about the wādīs and mountains a few hours distant from my home." The Sultan of Sēwūn is a relatively favourable exception to this rule in that he has seen Aden; he went there to attend a conference convened by the British authorities, where an attempt was made to arrive at a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Qeᶜēṭī and Kathīrī rulers. He desires to see more of the world, including Java, the land in which three quarters of his subjects have interests. The great difficulty, however, is to get over the Qeᶜēṭī barrier, and for that an aeroplane is necessary. The site for the future aerodrome which was shown to us seemed quite suitable.

In the evening there is again a gathering on the roof-terrace at ᶜIzz ed-Dīn. The subject brought forward for discussion is the poverty of Ḥaḍramaut and how relief from it may be obtained. In and around Sēwūn the water-level is not deep, which fact accounts for the prosperous palm-groves and fields of *dhura*. But the water-supply would have to be enlarged if it is to help the people really forward. This cannot be done by motor pumps, because they are too expensive in practice. The pump at Hēnin has to work eight hours a day to keep in existence a few acres of *dhura* and 200 small palm-trees, and that costs more in kerosene and lubricating oil than can ever be made from the produce of the irrigated land. The soil in Sēwūn is better and water nearer to the surface, and yet experience has taught that here also the motor pump does not pay. Can matters not be improved by means of artesian wells? The Sultan asks us to help by sending an expert with the necessary instruments. He says that at one time, in the days of the Ḥimyaritic kingdom, Ḥaḍramaut must have been

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afterwards with wet body in the dry evening breeze certainly does. Of course there is a servant with a samovar, who provides the glasses of tea, which are always welcome in this country of dry heat. The ripest dates are brought from the gardens; they are sweet but very astringent. The foreigner accustoms himself but slowly to this unusual and, at first, unappetising food. But soon he learns to appreciate the date whilst it is still hard and fresh.

Swimming by moonlight is an unexpected luxury and a particular pleasure to us in this country. On one side, close to the swimming-pool, there is a space for the *ṣalāt*, where a niche in the wall indicates the *qibla*[1]; on the other side there is a summer pavilion. Everything has a wash of light, delicate colour; the lines of the walls and roofs are edged with fine figures and borders, and one is inclined to forget that the material of which they are made is plain, brown mud. We spend quite a long time together with the young people on brotherly terms. They let themselves go now that no elders are present. Swimming and diving competitions are held with great gusto, until the time comes for the *ṣalāt el-ʿishā'* (the late evening ritual prayer), which is performed with suitable solemnity. The evenings at home on the great roof-terrace are always very attractive; only intimate friends remain till then, and our host puts questions which show clearly how his thoughts are always occupied with his country and people, and how he is seeking ways for their advancement.

There are many difficulties in the making of a road to esh-Shiḥr. The Ḥumūmī Bedouins, notorious for their love of fighting, and through whose territory passes the greater part of the road, have — after being richly paid — made a pact by which they promise not to oppose it and whereby Sayyid Abū Bakr binds himself only to allow the use of the road for travellers by motor-car, while the conveyance of freight shall be left to the camels of the Bedouins. There is only left unfinished a stretch of three days by camel.

[1] The *qibla* is the direction in which Mecca lies.

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2

721 643 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al 'Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

7: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1949-50) 1951 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut mm2

missioners) and Qaims (Assistant District Commissioners) of the provinces and districts. Naibs were provided with motor vehicles to increase their mobility. An annual conference of all Quaiti, Kathiri and Wahidi Naibs and Qaims has been instituted, at which lectures and practical demonstrations in all administrative subjects are given by local experts.

Another significant step towards devolution of duties on to Naibs and Qaims has been the setting-up of village councils under their direction and supervision. The activities of these councils include village welfare, hygiene, sanitation, increase of food production, etc. The Sultan of Qu'aiti State has also nominated a Municipal Council for Mukalla.

The period under review was also notable for increased co-operation in administrative affairs between Qu'aiti and Kathiri and for the settlement of problems common to these two States. The Qu'aiti and Kathiri State Secretaries and senior officials met several times during 1949 and 1950 and joint decisions were taken on such matters as local import and export taxes, development tax on date-bearing palms, postal affairs, remittances from abroad, famine relief and prevention, and unification of vehicle licences.

With the retirement of Sheikh Seif bin Ali Elbually, C.B.E., from the post of State Secretary to the Qu'aiti Government, in December, 1950, and the appointment of Sheikh Qaddal Sa'id El Qaddal Pasha, M.B.E., formerly Qu'aiti Director of Education who is a Sudanese, as his successor, the so-called Nationalist Party, whose membership does not extend beyond Mukalla Town, seized the opportunity to foment serious rioting, in the quelling of which 16 persons were killed and 24 wounded. Suitable sentences were dealt out to the ringleaders by the Special Court set up by the Sultan to try the offenders. The new State Secretary has been warmly welcomed into the office by all the responsible citizens and officials of the Qu'aiti State in Mukalla and throughout the Provinces.

The Kathiri Sultan Ja'far bin Mansur bin Ghalib died on 24th April, 1949, and was succeeded by his nephew Sultan Hussein bin Ali bin Mansur al Kathiri, who was recognised by His Majesty's Government as Treaty Sultan on 22nd May, 1950.

During 1950 codified criminal law based on Sharia was introduced in the Qu'aiti State.

Beduin Affairs

Wahidi Area. As a result of the operations against the Khadim of Mithaf and the Al Adhm Tribe in January and February, 1950, the whole Dhiyeibi area came under the Sultan of Balhaf and security posts were established on the western border of the Eastern Aden Protectorate.

In July, 1950, a successful operation was undertaken against Al Ba Dukhn for breach of the peace and the tribe was brought under complete control